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NATIVITY AT LOWICZ by Boleslaw Cybis.



AT THIS YULETIDE SEASON WHEN WE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE FULLY ENJOYING THE BLESSING OF LIBERTY, I EXTEND TO THE POLISH PEOPLE AFFECTIONATE CHRISTMAS GREETINGS WITH THE WISH THAT THEY TOO MAY SOON HAVE THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE TO WHICH THEY ARE SO RIGHTFULLY ENTITLED.

—Arthur Bliss Lane

FORMER AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO POLAND



# REPORT ON POLAND

By THOMAS

Member of the Committee on Foreign

S. GORDON, M.C.

Affairs, U. S. House of Representatives

I WAS ONE of the members of a special Congressional Delegation which comprised six members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and four members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, under the Chairmanship of the Honorable H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey and the Honorable Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota. We covered twenty-two European countries, investigating their internal, political, economic and social conditions.

Having the knowledge of the Polish language and there being a population of over six million Americans of Polish descent in the United States, I chose to go deeper into the problems of Poland. I may add that I based my analysis of Polish problems on a comparison I was able to make between the conditions prevailing in Poland in October, 1945 when I first visited there, and those prevailing at the present moment.

I am firmly convinced that Poland is in the claws of Soviet Russia. Poland has lost her independence as a result of the last war and the Polish nation has been deprived of any voice in the conduct of its national affairs and international relations.

I visited Poland as a member of a congressional group two years ago, in October, 1945, and I revisited Poland in the last days of September, 1947. During these two years the Soviet grip on Poland has been considerably tightened up. While two years ago certain domains of Polish political, social and economic life were still under the control of non-communist Poles, today everything is under the control of Soviet officials or Soviet agents acting in Warsaw on orders and in behalf of Moscow.

Two years ago I submitted a report to the House of Representatives in which I used the words "imported revolution" describe the numerous changes in the Polish political, social and economic life which I observed at that time. I can state today that this "imported revolution" has now become an accomplished fact.

The four Senators and six Congressmen who comprised our group were warned in Sweden that no permission has been granted to our group to fly over territories under Soviet military control. Thus, in a round-about way, carefully avoiding territories over which the Soviet flag flies *officially*, after several hours flight, we reached the Warsaw airport—where the Soviet flag flies *unofficially*.

The American Ambassador, Mr. Griffis, and the staff of the U. S. Embassy in Warsaw, greeted us at the airport, but representatives of the Polish government were conspicuous by their absence. They knew perfectly well who was coming, but they deemed it necessary to advise our Embassy that everybody was so busy that no one could spare the time to welcome us. Unperturbed by this primitive rudeness we proceeded through the ruins of Warsaw to the hotel.

I did not notice much reconstruction, but some very laudable patchwork has been done by the population despite the fact that building materials and tools are lacking. I noticed a few rebuilt houses scattered all over the city and housing some of the government offices.

The Poles are in no haste to rebuild their dwellings since unfortunately, as soon as a house has been rebuilt a government commission takes it over from the owner and decides who is to occupy the premises. The occupant is always an official loyally serving the Communist Party

(disguised under the name of the Polish Workers' Party—PPR) or the Communist government.

The same privileges are being accorded to loyal Communists or government officials in food distribution. Whoever works for the government, gets better food rations. Whoever refuses to have the yoke put on his neck—is sentenced to slow starvation unless he manages to buy some food at exorbitant prices on the black market.

One of the most interesting observations I was able to make is the use of taxes for political purposes. This political taxation system is particularly striking on the farms. Having decided to ruin the peasant who still owns some private property, the Polish Communist government forces the peasant to deliver fixed quotas of grain, potatoes, vegetables, meat, etc. Over and above those quotas, or rather over and above this taxation in kind, the peasant has to pay taxes in money. If he is a member of the Polish Peasant Party (Mr. Mikolajczyk was the Chairman of that Party), assessment in kind and in money rises so fast that the peasant is ruined within a short time. Should he, however, follow the "advice" of the tax assessors and desert the Polish Peasant Party or—better still—denounce this party publicly as a "stooge of American imperialism and American monopolies,"—his tax assessment slides down surprisingly fast.

The only weapon remaining in the hands of the peasant is curtailment of his productivity which in turn brings about a decrease of the production of food.

Thus, the war the government is waging against Polish peasant, stubborn supporters of the idea of private ownership, is greatly responsible for the scarcity of food in Poland.

It is my considered opinion that the Polish people need food and I shall do all I can to convince my fellow-Americans that food should be sent to Poland, although it should be distributed by *American agents under American supervision*, because otherwise it will never reach the starving Poles.

As regards financial aid to Poland—the situation is different. In view of the ruthless exploitation of the Polish economy by Soviet Russia, whatever rehabilitation of the Polish industry could be achieved through the means of foreign credits will ultimately work for the benefit of the Soviet economy only. Very reliable sources in Warsaw summed up the situation for us in these words: "The present rulers of Poland tell the world that they need foreign money to increase their coal production, but under a multitude of agreements signed in Moscow by the Communist economic dictator of Poland, Hilary Minc, a Soviet agent, over 72% of Polish coal goes to Soviet Russia. Sometimes it is called 'export coal,' sometimes 'reparations coal,' sometimes 'compensation coal,' but the net result is that the Poles are freezing while their coal goes East. In other words,—a dollar to Poland is a dollar to Soviet Russia."

But I want to stress again that relief goods in kind, such as food, medical aid and special items for children and the sick should be sent to Poland, if a proper administration of distribution—*American distribution*—could be set up.

Next to the economic life the firmness of the Soviet grip on Poland could best be seen in matters of the press, radio and publications.

The Communist government took possession of all media of dissemination of news and comments. There is no independent press, no independent radio, and no independent publishing business in Poland. There is no criticism of Soviet Russia permitted in the Polish press and radio and there is no pro-American newspaper being published in Poland.

Two facts characterize this situation:—the Communist government censors all papers and the Communist government controls all supply of newsprint. Every printed word in Poland is read by the Communist censor before publication and reviewed by the same censor after publication. Any paper could be put out of existence by denying it the government-controlled newsprint. The more anti-American a paper, the more newsprint it gets because the government is eager to increase its circulation.

The radio is a monopoly of the Communist government. All radio sets have to be registered. Slanted news and slanted comment is the rule in the radio in Poland just as it is in the press.

Both the press and the radio serve primarily to foster "Polish-Soviet friendship," but a special widespread organization called "Polish-Soviet Friendship Society" reaches into every branch of public and private life in order to exercise anti-American and pro-Soviet influence.

I was able to ascertain that the "Polish-Soviet Friendship Society" maintains 23 branches in 310 counties and towns, 977 clubs, 10 bookstores in Warsaw and some larger provincial cities. This organization sponsored within the last few months 1,377 public lectures on Soviet Russia and maintained classes in the Russian language in 110 schools.

There is of course no counterpart of this work on the American side because none has been permitted by the government. The declared policy of the Communist Polish government in this realm is to "turn the Poles away from the West and turn them towards the East."

One does not have to live in Poland or to stay there for months in order to be able to notice that despite all this impact of Soviet propaganda, seconded by the brutal use of force displayed by the "Bezpieka"—a sister organization of the dreaded NKVD—neither the individual Pole

nor Poland as a nation will ever be turned against America. Just the contrary has been achieved by the Soviet masters of present-day Poland. The Poles hate Russians and Communists more than they ever hated them in their history, more than they hated the agents of the Tsar, and probably as much as they hate the Germans. Their only hope is America, and all their thoughts go to us. One's eyes fill with tears when the common man in the street, stopping at the sound of the English language and learning that one of the foreigners understands Polish, whispers, looking over his shoulder and asks naively the deeply touching, unanswerable question: "When are you Americans going to chase away this Asiatic horde, those gangsters, murderers and despoilers of our land?" . . . . .

But there are not many Poles who dare to speak to a foreigner. . .

Two years ago many Poles came to visit me and many talked to me about their troubles and their tragedy. It is different now. The Polish NKVD has succeeded in erecting a wall between the Poles and foreigners just as the Soviet NKVD succeeded in building such a wall between the Russian people and the outer world.

A Pole who dares to approach a foreigner is shadowed by the "Bezpieka" agents. He is arrested and questioned. He is black-listed and he will not get a job. He will be starved . . . if he escapes, a trial where he will be accused of "conniving with foreign intelligence agents." The trials and the stiff sentences achieved their aim: the Poles do not dare to talk to foreigners!

However, I tried to speak Polish to one officer and two soldiers—in Polish uniforms all three of them—who paced up and down the street before a building housing a government agency. All three of them responded in good, pure Russian . . . None of them spoke Polish. I seem to have particularly bad luck in speaking Polish to "Polish" officers and soldiers. Two years ago, when I landed at the Warsaw airport, I approached two officers in Polish uniforms, greeting them genially in Polish. They answered politely in Russian informing me that they did not speak Polish. The same thing happened to me this time—two years later. In that respect I did not notice any change.

THE HUMAN mind in a time of despair searches for some portents of hope. As another year draws to a close, with Poland and so many other nations still in Red chains, are there any such portents? I think there are.

The first, too often overlooked, is that nearly a million and a half subjects of Soviet-held lands and of Russia itself are fugitives in Western Europe. Though their lot is hard, they resist repatriation to the death. They represent a large proportion of those who had the chance to choose freedom. Their very ordeal of exile is a measure of the real sentiments of the enslaved peoples.

Another portent is in the deeply changed attitude of public opinion toward the Soviet oligarchy in America and the rest of the free world. It is only two years since statesmen and publicists talked seriously—and sometimes even honestly—about "Russian democracy" and the "freedom-loving Soviet government." Today that sounds burlesque; it seems difficult to believe that we had heard and read such nonsense.

The part of the world that is still allowed to think has cleansed its mind of illusions, its heart of self-deceit, about the Soviet dictatorship. And that obviously is all to the good. It is mirrored in a more realistic American policy, a more alert American comprehension of the facts.

Since so much space in the *Polish Review* is of necessity shadowed by gloomy comment on gloomier realities, I thought I would send my Christmas and New Year's greetings to its readers in a holiday mood of hope and faith.

—EUGENE LYONS



# JUSTICE FOR POLAND

By CLARE BOOTH LUCE



Representative Clare Boothe Luce among Polish Wacs during her visit to the Polish Second Corps on the Italian front. March, 1945.

**I**N 1939 A FREE, independent Poland was brutally attacked by Hitler. It was attacked because it wouldn't give in to Nazi demands—as far stronger countries had. I was in Poland on the eve of that attack. I saw Polish people preparing to lead their little army into battle against German tanks, on cavalry horses. The Poles knew that to meet Hitler's iron hordes on horseback meant slaughter, meant destruction, meant defeat, but they met them. God knows where they got the courage, it seemed such folly. And so it was—it was the folly of the cross, and when Stalin shook hands with Hitler on the Nazi-Soviet pact, Poland was crucified—crucified between two thieves.

Then Poland lived under the reign of double terror. The like of it the world has never seen. Wherever red hands or brown hands could be laid on Polish patriots and leaders, these leaders were put at forced labor, they were thrown into concentration camps, they were sent into Siberian exile, they were liquidated. Untold numbers of Polish Jews were cremated.

The Nazi and the Soviet thieves fell out, and Hitler attacked Russia. Only then were the Polish men and leaders who had not already been exterminated by the Reds freed by Russia to form an anti-Nazi army. But the Poles don't have to be free to fight. In the very heart of Hitler-held Poland, General Bor-Komorowski formed an underground army. On a prearranged signal with Russia and ourselves, General Bor launched an uprising

in Warsaw. But the Red army that stood then at Warsaw's gates and had so smoothly promised to come to General Bor's aid—that army never showed itself. No, it never showed up at all. Warsaw was reduced by the Germans. It was reduced block by block and house by house to a city of rubble and mud, of blood and corpses. All during those days, you remember, America looked on the suffering of Poland and wept; and America promised. We promised in the name of the Atlantic Charter that at the War's end both Germany and Russia would leave Polish soil, promised that Poland would again be free. All day long during the war the America radio blared these promises by short wave to Poland. These promises had the sanction of our President, of the Secretary of State, of the American Congress. And, isn't it so, they had the sanction of the whole American people. Were these crocodile tears that America wept, were we Americans being giants in our promises then, pygmies in our performance afterwards?

I think a free American people must judge. Yalta was the measure of our promises. Yalta sanctioned the fifth partitioning of Poland, and Potsdam confirmed it. The week that the hush-hush news of Yalta leaked to the Allied armies, I happened to be visiting General Anders' army. It was fighting under General Mark Clark's gallant United States Fifth on the Italian front. That, you remember, was the army recruited in Russian-held Poland and in Russia after Hitler had double-crossed Mr. Stalin. General Anders had marched his men thousands of miles through Russia and the Near East to join our American forces in the African campaign. His men had fought long years. They had known neither leave nor rotation. Their homes lay ahead of them in enemy hands, and so, they used to say, did their replacements. In that week of Yalta I found it hard to look into the hurt, accusing eyes of General Anders' soldiers. I shall never forget how ashamed I was that day to be an American.

For any army but a Polish army, that betrayal by its strongest ally—the one that had wept most and promised loudest—that would have been the signal to quit, to quit in hate and despair. But General Anders' army did not quit. Why? General Anders said to me, "We fought all the way out to keep our country free and we will fight all the way in to make it free. If we don't fight, who in all the world is going to fight for us now?"

You know the rest. You know the slow, mealy-mouthed acceptance by our leaders of Soviet expansion in Poland. You know our double-talk betrayal of Poland's real democratic leaders, the hypocritical countenancing by our Government of that disgraceful farce, the "free and unfettered" elections in Poland. There are some who call this conduct prudence and others call it power politics. There are others who impeach it softly as appeasement; but in plain words it's either stupidity or cowardice, and neither worthy of our Uncle Sam.

It would be a fine thing if we could put Poland's case today on the sole grounds of democratic bounty and Christian charity. But we have got to be honest men and honest women. Poland's misery does more than twist our American hearts. It taunts our American consciences; for we are free men living in a free country and we are mixed up beyond any dispute in the mistakes our leaders have made in our name. We haven't inflicted the wounds that Poland suffers, but we have let them widen. And if we have broken no heads in Poland, we have helped to break Polish hearts.

Long live Free Poland.



# POLAND AND PEACE

By PROF. FRANK NOWAK, University of Boston and

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

**A**MERICAN moral and political leadership in world affairs reached unprecedented heights in World War I when Woodrow Wilson with great sincerity and high purpose formulated the objectives of the war in his famous program of Fourteen Points and clearly enunciated the prerequisites of a lasting peace.

This program and these elementary principles rallied the nations of the world, great and small, to the cause of "making the world safe for democracy." The victory was won but lasting peace was not achieved because the Great Powers betrayed these principles and refused to use the League of Nations for the purposes intended.

In the Second World War amid chaos, destruction and despair, President Roosevelt again rallied world opinion by appealing to the Wilsonian program. With Winston Churchill in 1941 he proclaimed the ideals of the Atlantic Charter, renouncing aggression, confirming the principles of self-determination of nations, and recognizing the right of peoples to choose their own form of government in pursuit of the so-called "Four Freedoms."

On January 1, 1942 twenty-six nations, including the Soviet Union, subscribed to the "Common program of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration known as the Atlantic Charter" and gave their pledge "To defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands and in other lands."

The first great test of the Atlantic Charter involved the independence and territorial integrity of Poland. Stalin, who desperately needed allies and lend-lease supplies, gave solemn assurance to Britain and America on November 6, 1942 that he wanted a "strong, and independent Poland." Said he, "We have not nor can we have such war aims as the imposition of our will and our regime on the Slavic and other enslaved peoples of Europe who are waiting for our help. Our aim is to help these peoples in their struggles for liberation from Hitler's tyranny and then to accord them the possibility of arranging their lives on their own land as they think fit, with absolute freedom. No interference of any kind with their domestic affairs is possible."

Taking Stalin at his word, the United States and Great Britain sent lend-lease materials to Russia without stint. We all rightly admired the valiant resistance of the Russian people to foreign invasion and were wont to believe in and justify every word and act of Stalin himself despite his famous dictum of 1913 that "Words must have no relation to actions—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron."

Winston Churchill, too, was a willing believer in the honor and integrity of Stalin although a short four years earlier the same Winston Churchill had correctly analyzed the Communist sense of honor in these very words. "Communism is not only a Creed, it is a plan of campaign. A Communist is not only the holder of certain opinions, he is the pledged adept of a well-thought-out means of enforcing them. The anatomy of discontent and revolution has been studied in every phase and aspect, and a veritable drill book prepared in a scientific spirit for subverting all existing institutions. No faith need be, indeed,

may be kept with non-Communists. Every act of good will, of tolerance, of conciliation, of mercy, of magnanimity on the part of statesmen is to be used for their ruin. Then, when the time is ripe and the moment opportune, every form of lethal violence, from revolt to private assassination, must be used without stint or compunction. The citadel will be stormed under the banners of Liberty and Democracy: and once the apparatus of power is in their hands all opposition must be extinguished by death. Democracy is but a tool to be used and afterwards broken."

It seems that both Roosevelt and Churchill had great confidence in their ability to convert Stalin to their point of view by a policy of patience and appeasement.

By 1944 as the powers became more confident of victory over Hitler, their enthusiasm for the Atlantic Charter waned and at Dumbarton Oaks the Three Big Powers seemed ready to preserve the peace primarily by agreement among themselves.

At Yalta in 1945 Stalin achieved his greatest triumph for he convinced the ailing president of the United States and Winston Churchill that they should renounce their moral leadership and recognize the immoral aggression of totalitarian Communism. Once again Poland was the touchstone of the sincerity and good faith of the Big Three. They chose to betray the Atlantic Charter by appeasing Stalin. The appeasement was as shameful as it was unnecessary. It resulted not only in the partition of the territory of a friendly ally but in a total loss of Polish independence. The Polish people were in no way represented at the bargaining table. Poland was sold down the river and it is today a slave state crushed and exploited by a foreign dictatorship no whit less brutal and dangerous than was Nazi Germany.

The tragedy of it is that at Yalta the democracies of the world lost the peace and prepared the way for enslavement of half Europe and a large part of Asia by Communist forces.

Speaking in May 1945, Winston Churchill practically acknowledged the mistake made at Yalta when he said, "There would be little use in punishing the Hitlerites for their crimes if law and justice did not rule and if totalitarian and police governments were to take the place of the German invaders. We seek nothing for ourselves. But we must make sure that those causes which we fought for find recognition at the peace table in fact as well as word, and above all we must labor that the world organization which the United Nations are creating at San Francisco does not become an idle name, does not become a shield for the strong and a mockery for the weak." But again at San Francisco the Polish people had no voice; instead, Stalin spoke for Poland through his puppets.

The compromise of elementary principles of justice in world affairs is fatal to world peace. It is no longer possible to play fast and loose with fundamental truth, good faith, and international law. It is our sacred obligation, if we seek to regain moral leadership, to do all in our power to bring about not only the withdrawal of Soviet troops from occupied territories but also the "puppet regimes" by insisting upon the fulfilment of the pledge of "unfettered elections" under United Nations supervision.

If Russia believes, in the words of Goebbels, that "What  
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# DISPLACED SCHOLARS

By REV. GERALD J. WALSH, S.J.\*

**A**FTER SPENDING the summer studying the Displaced Persons problem in Europe, I brought back with me 470 detailed reports of personal interviews with former educators now in DP camps. I had myself conducted 300 of the interviews.

When my work, in the American Zone in Germany, was completed, I was called to the International Refugee Office in Geneva to report. These practical men kept me talking for three full hours. They had on their shelves volumes filled with statistics and the analyses of statistics; but no one apparently had thought of the simple idea of actually talking with the DP's themselves. Of course, no one person could meet all the Displaced Persons, not even those in the U. S. Zone. There are, according to the August 9th Report, about 330,000 DP's in military assembly centers in the U. S. Zone. Of these 120,000 are Jewish; 60,000 Ukrainians; 50,000 Poles; 40,000 Latvians; 25,000 Lithuanians; 15,000 Estonians; 5,000 Yugoslavs; 3,000 Russians, and 15,000 unclassified. Of the 330,000 I had personally only examined 300, that is 1 in every 1,000. The fact that I had actually talked with these people impressed these experts.

One question they asked me was: Did I meet any other kind of people than professors. I had. I have about 20 categories of people: Agronomists, Architects, Dentists, Doctors, Engineers, Forestry Experts, Nurses, Pharmacists, Professors, Surgeons, Veterinarians, X-ray Specialists, and so on.

I was asked if I did not have some practical suggestion for the overall problem of Resettlement. Anyone must have a suggestion or two if he had lived, as I had, in all that tragedy of misery and waste. I said: If a professor looking only for professors can find 300 in 30 days, don't you think that a commission of 20 looking for all kinds of experts ought to be able to find 6,000 in at least two months? And if, I said, a professor can arrange contracts between professors and colleges, the commission ought to be able to arrange contracts between practical experts and American civic communities. For example, I said, there must be communities in the forest belt of California that would be delighted to give a living to a genuine forestry expert and his family in return for the technical skill he would bring to that community. In Arizona, let us say, there must be communities that would be glad to give support to a doctor, a dentist, or a nurse to save their people the trouble of long travel. There must be communities or groups of communities in Nebraska — to mention but one state — that could use very profitably a consultant agronomist in return for the support of a specialist and his family. And so on.

In the SS. Kaserne outside of Munich there are 4,000 DP Ukrainians who prefer despair under the Americans to death in their Soviet controlled homeland. Using himself as a guinea pig, a young DP doctor in that camp has worked wonders with the ravages of TB, having developed a serum that has cured many of the inmates of that dread disease. It seems to me, a man like that would be a real economic asset to our republic. Among the DP's are flood control experts, PhDs in hydrodynamics. They have tamed many European rivers; they might help in American flood areas.

My argument at Geneva was that if we had 6,000 of these experts living for a year in scattered communities

of our country, it would become obvious that there is more than riff raff in the DP camps. Thus unthinking opposition to the Stratton bill might be removed. And when the Stratton bill begins to work, Canada, Australia and South America will jump on the immigration bandwagon. And so in four years there need be no DP problem at all, and none of the enormous expense involved in keeping it as a problem.

As an historian, I have always been used to thinking of Europe as some kind of unity, in spite of the frontiers. But iron curtains are worse than frontiers. I had a very difficult time getting travel orders for the American Zone. And I was limited very strictly to that Zone. It would have taken a week of negotiations to get permission to spend one day in any of the other zones. And so we have a Russian Europe, a British Europe, a French Europe, an American Europe; and within the American Zone, there is an American Germany, a German Germany and a DP Germany—three completely separated communities with their own currency (or none at all), with special kinds of food controls and many other kinds of control. German Germany gets its automobile gas in one set of stations and American Germany gets its gas in its own special stations. We use script; Germans use marks; and DPs use cigarettes as currency.

Next to this muddle in the map of Europe, I think I was struck by the contrast in moods. The prevailing mood is pessimism; but you also meet much optimism. Naturally I kept looking around for a symbol of these moods. I thought I found it while looking at the ruins of Frankfurt cathedral. The nave has been blown to bits. It is just a gaping wound. It seems to be saying: Europe is down and out, and I am its symbol. On the other hand the Gothic spire is intact. It rises proudly skyward and the big clock still ticks, as though to say: Give us time and recovery will come. The spire seems to be a perfect symbol of optimism. As I turned to leave, a small ruin caught my eye. On a battered wall of a roofless house some one had scrawled in big letters the German words, *Ein Volk steigt auf*, "A whole people is rising from the dead." The same words had been written on a second wall of the ruin; but a pessimist had come along and daubed out the "rising from the dead" and written instead *Ein Volk liegt unter*, "is down and out."

Almost worse than this aggressive optimism and grumbling pessimism is the sheer indifference of a third group. I found myself in this class. In the midst of the miles and miles of ruins I just couldn't get it into my head that we had made those ruins. I could only imagine that archaeologists had dug up this curiously modern-looking civilization. The streets were cleared, and filled with people, and the ruins all looked so neatly preserved. But one day I was traveling in a bus to the Military Headquarters in Munich. We passed the ruins of the historic Michaelskirche, the ruins of the royal palace, ruin after ruin. The one thing that seemed intact was the Beer house where Hitler planned the whole sorry business. There it stood, just as he knew it, a masterpiece in historical irony. A young German was pointing out the ruins, one by one. We came to a great open space. Ya, he said, there your boys got a bull's eye. That was our biggest factory. There were 4,000 young women working there. One day your boys came and our alerts did not work; and that is all that is left of the building and the 4,000 young women. And among them was my wife, he

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\*Condensed from a lecture given by Rev. Gerald J. Walsh, S.J., before the Polish Institute of Arts & Sciences in America, on October 13, 1947. The author is a professor at Fordham University and editor of the magazine *Thought*.



# OBSERVATIONS

By PERISCOPE

"The Cossack eats Poland like stolen fruit."  
Ralph Waldo Emerson. 1876. Same today.

USSR means "Uncle Sam Saved Russia," and has reference to our donation of arms and armament to that ungrateful state in 1942 and 1943. This unintentional acknowledgment is the only one Russia has made to date.

We are not contending for Yalta Poland. We are contending for the Poland of 1921-1939, plus reasonable compensation for Germany's ravages in Poland.

Of all the gilt-edged class A nonsense that is being offered today as statesmanship, that of "contain Russia" takes the highest prize for lack of character and wisdom. Contain a growing and voracious octopus. Impure nonsense.

There is a well known and ancient principle of law that he who comes into court to accuse must come with clean hands. That rules out all that Stalin, Molotov, and Vishinsky may say.

The government of ignorant but shrewd men like Stalin, who rules by unprincipled craft and brute force, or by able but uncivilized men like Molotov and Vishinsky, is a major disaster for mankind.

The Russian celebration of the 30th anniversary of its shameful 1917 Bolshevik revolution brings to our minds a line of St. Paul's, "their glory is in their shame."

Freedom, democracy, give us a framework wherein the citizens of an imperfect state can work for its improvement. Communism does not. It crushes the will of all but the dictator.

What astounding robbery on a colossal scale is Russia's seizure of the states of Eastern Europe, from Finland to Yugoslavia! Future historians will fail to find words adequate to their indignation at this brazen banditry.

The Russian technique of accusing others of the very thing Russia is itself doing is now so well known as to be accepted as the infallible weathercock indicating the winds of the day.

This page raises its voice in protest against the newspaper and radio attribution of acts to Poland. There is no Poland today. There is only a trained-and-appointed-in-Moscow Communist puppet group in charge of Polish affairs. To attribute present-day acts to Poland is to slander a gallant and fallen ally.

When Roosevelt and Churchill betrayed helpless Poland into the maw and paw of the Russian bear at Yalta they sowed the seed of what we are reaping today in the way of Russian insolence, hypocrisy, and aggression. Can any of the acts of that conference be undone? Is not that a first step on the trail back to decency? How can we Americans expect God's blessing on our nation until our Government has repented of those great wrongs to Poland and taken all possible action to repair the damage?

The putrid Warsaw satrapy of Balalaika Joe is represented in Paris by an ambassador, believe it or not, named Putrament. The Latin root *putor* means "stink."

There is a famous English cynical definition of a diplomat as a gentleman sent abroad to lie for his country. Without being in any sense a gentleman Vishinsky qualifies perfectly under the latter part of that saying.

"The greatest exhibition of hypocrisy the world has ever seen." "The profound moral humiliation of man which is the official regime of Russia in the world today." Two sentences from John Dewey's review of "Forced Labor in Soviet Russia" in "The New Leader" for September 13, 1947.

There is no Polish state today; there is only a Polish nation.

Poland is rapidly being transformed into a monolithic one-party police state by the Russian agents placed in power by Stalin and maintained in authority by the Red Army and the secret police. This notwithstanding the fact that 95% of the Polish population is anti-Communist, many of them fiercely so.

We are glad that some of our chief American officials stayed away from the anniversary celebrations of the Russian revolution of 1917. The USSR was born in events of murder and robbery on so vast a scale that the civilized world stood aghast at the spectacle. That government has not reformed. It has not become respectable. Its processes today are just what they were thirty years ago plus such new inventions of suppression and devilry that those who pause to contemplate those acts are appalled.

In all history I know of no such brazen and lying pronouncements as those today characteristic of the leaders of USSR life. They have utterly prostituted such words as security, democracy, freedom, and they continually attribute to others and condemn in them the tyranny, imperialism, deprivation of freedom, suppression, and general villainy they themselves practise.

The Stalin agents in Poland refer to the present system as "the new Polish reality." Though not Polish it is certainly new and literally horribly real. New. Not even after the Polish uprisings against Russian oppression in 1830 and 1863 was there such brutal suppression of the revolting population as is now the normal procedure, not against men and women in revolt but merely holding or daring to voice opinions contrary to the regime. Yes, it is worse by far even than the five years of Hitler-Nazi-German terror of 1939-1944.

## The Seven Pillars of Soviet Sovereignty

Though he does not give them the above title, Prof. Geo. S. Counts of Columbia University, in his recent book "I Want to Be Like Stalin" (he doesn't) lists these Seven Pillars of Unwisdom on pages 28 and 29 of his valuable little volume. (I will not say that it is a must for true liberals but it is all the same.) The Seven Pillars:

1. The severity of the dictatorship.
2. The regimentation of mind.
3. The system of thought control.
4. The supervision of all movement.
5. The operations of the political police.
6. The treatment of deserters.
7. The use of forced labor.

What mild terms these are! But what terrible practices they designate!

These are the processes of which the agencies of Soviet Sovereignty, the Party, the Secret Police, the Red Army, the compulsory schools, make deadly efficient use.

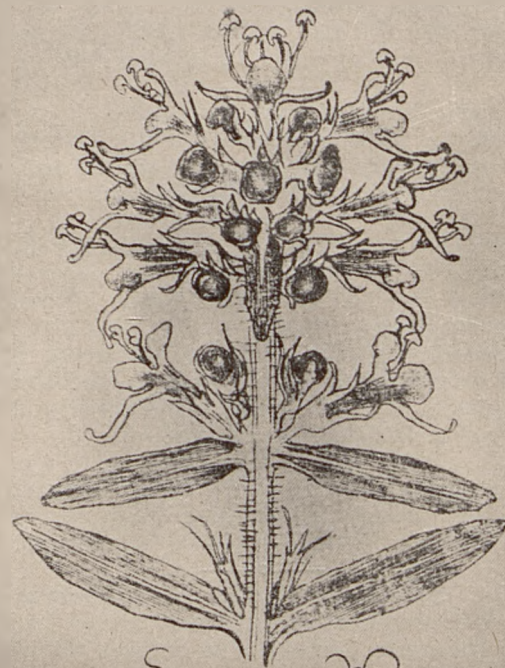


# UNUSUAL PATHS OF POLISH PRINTING ART

By LEOPOLD

WELLISZ

## WESELE



NAPISAŁ STANISŁAW WYSPIANSKI  
WYDANIE TRZECIE NIEZMIENIONE

"WESELE" BY STANISŁAW WYSPIANSKI.  
TITLE PAGE, THIRD EDITION, CRACOW 1903.

new values to Polish books. Booklover societies, whose untiring initiator is and was Stanislaus P. Koczorowski, interested themselves in rare books. Rare editions were also printed by Kuglin in Poznan. Writers like Stanislaus Lamm, Jan Muszkowski, Bonaventura Lenart, an outstanding professor of lettering and a great master of artistic binding, worked on theoretical problems and gave their influence to the development of artistic printing.

In such an atmosphere the advance made in the art of printing was more and more perceptible. Such artists as Tadeusz Cieslewski, Jr., Bartłomiejczyk, Stanisław A. Chrostowski, Czermanski, Gronowski, Irena Lorentowicz, Mrozewski, brought much individual beauty to books which they illustrated.

Among the post-war generation in this field Anatol Girs and Bolesław Barcz take the lead. In 1934 they began to work upon the improvement of books destined for the wider mass of readers. Under the firm name: "Atelier Graficzne Girs, Barcz," with a microscopic capital, but with tremendous energy, productivity and ideas, within a few years they produced unique graphic

forms, book covers, illustrations for over 200 books and several large albums on Poland, the Polish sea, air-force and army. All their publications are noteworthy for their excellent type.

Their books quickly won recognition not only among Polish readers but also at international expositions. In 1935 in Florence they received the Grand Prix and Gold Medal, and in the following years received several of the highest honorable mentions for the excellence of their work.

As their means increased, Girs and Barcz increased their equipment and gradually they began reproduction of more of their illustrations in their own shop. They attained excellence in the reproduction of etchings, which they were the first to use in their albums. In 1938 they began to do four-color printing, which was as good as the best English work. Under the name of "Ofcyna Warszawska" they began publishing monographs on well-known Polish artists.

They created a new kind of Polish type, a stylized script resembling Gothic, which they named "Militari" using it for the first time in an album put out by the Central Military Library. This "Militari" type makes for extraordinary compactness and beautiful decorative effects. It is well adapted to the printing of poetry, scientific books, and especially historical books of a large format. The "Militari" type was the first of Ofcyna Warszawska's projected type innovations. Complementing each other, this and the aforementioned Poltawski type formed the basis for the development of Polish printing, creating a distinctive style, giving new values to the printing art in Western Europe.

During the German occupation of Poland Ofcyna Warszawska was able to save its equipment from the Germans, even continued secretly to prepare publications for post-war printing. However, during the Warsaw uprising of 1944 Ofcyna Warszawska was completely destroyed. Barcz was lost on the field of battle, and Girs, together with his family, was first in the terrible Oswiecim concentration camp and then in Dachau. Unbroken by the years of horrors he survived, the liberated Girs began the development under incredibly difficult conditions of creative printing.

Using the name "Ofcyna Warszawska Abroad," Girs' first publications were groups of poems by Poles who had been in German concentration camps, then a book entitled "We Were in Oswiecim," followed by other volumes varying in type of contents and the aforementioned work on Stanislaus Polonus the crowning achievement. All maintain the high level of type and technical perfection set

by the firm during its existence in independent Poland, and although published abroad each of the volumes from this resuscitated press is purely Polish in character.

The appearance of Girs' editions tends to emphasize the unusual junction of the beginning of American printing of 400 years ago with Polish printing. Then again Girs' presence on the American continent gives us the hope that it will be the beginning of a new series of outstanding editions.

*Carta de franquessa de d'os alemanes  
y presores de libros de let de mol de  
de Rey de la Reyna*

*Haz faser bien y mrd a vos menados vnguer e estan yolan alemanes yny  
Sores de libros e fantes en esta cibdad de Sevilla. licitando como por nro ma  
dado e por nro d'aruy. vos otros venguer con vros aparesos del d'icho oficio  
(a lo d'az. en esta d'icha cibdad. nra mrd e voluntad es. que agora e de nro  
adlante en qntu e vnguerdes en esta d'icha cibdad. e fantes del d'icho oficio  
Seades e fantes de contrubuy. en los repartimetros que en ella se faser  
para la grra d'los moros. It que non se den hnes pedes en las casnas de vra  
morada. n Saguen d'ellas. topa para ynguna parte. It por esta nra carta  
mandamos al cançe. o adlante al cançe al mayor veynte e quatro  
cana d'los e baderos lumbos. ofiales e omes buenos e a otras quales quier  
personas. que hanen o tomere cargo de faser los d'chos repartimetros  
dla guerra e a los nros aposentadores e del principe e ynfantas. nros  
mayores. It nuy amados fijos e a otras quales quier personas que to  
vieren cargo de aposentaz. en esta d'icha cibdad. que vos non enpudlonen  
yn repartaz cosa alguna de la qntu adlante en los d'chos repartimetros  
yn de hnes pedes en las casnas de vra morada yn Saguen d'ellas topa  
para otra parte alguna segund d'chos. e que vos guarden e fagan  
guardaz esta mrd que vos nos faseremos en la manera que d'has. Sin  
vos poner en ello ynyndimeto alguno. d'los vnos yn los otros non fagades  
ende al Gopena d'la nra mrd e de d'cos mrd mrd. amda vno que lo cançe  
faser para la nra camara. faga en la cibdad de Sevilla. a nro veynte e  
d'el mes de mayo de noueta e yn años. yo de Rey. yola Reyna. por  
mandado de Rey d'la Reyna isha d'la parra*

MESSAGE FROM KING FERDINAND AND QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN TO STANISLAUS  
POLONUS, PRINTER IN SEVILLE, GRANTING HIM SPECIAL COURT PRIVILEGES (1491).



# THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE WARSAW REGIME

By A. K.

ADAMS

IN MAY 1947, i. e., after the elections and the amnesty decree, the Warsaw government turned its attention to economic affairs — attention necessitated by an inflationary rise of prices.

There are various reasons for the limited inflation which held Poland in its grip in the late Spring of 1947. First of all, the nationalized transport, industry and agriculture not only gave no profit to the government, but had to be heavily subsidized. It could hardly be otherwise when one takes into account the exports to Russia, often below production costs, and the composition of the management in which Communist incompetents were given preference over non-party experts. To offset the deficits in the budget, the Government decided in the Spring to raise the prices of goods produced or manufactured for home consumption by nationalized industries as well as prices of all public services. Railroad and bus fares, gas, electricity and water rates were accordingly raised. The burden of these increases fell upon the shoulders of the Polish taxpayers without affecting export trade.

To conceal the failure of its economic policies the government employed typical Soviet methods, laying the blame for the high prices on "economic saboteurs," the underground movement, and the independent merchants "who collaborate with the underground." At the same time Hilary Minc, the Minister of Industry and Trade, launched a nationwide campaign against "speculators" obviously aimed at private enterprise. A wave of government decrees "for combatting speculation" was promulgated, designed to break the independent merchants and craftsmen and to speed up the liquidation of private initiative.

This was not the first time the Communist-dominated government had employed economic measures in its fight against the people. During the past three years there had been many similar occurrences.

Since the beginning of 1945, many decrees of the Lublin Committee, later recognized as the Provisional Polish Government, have aimed at the strengthening of Communist domination through increased economic control. The puppet regime has purposely tended to reduce the Poles to a state of poverty and to lower the standard of living, hoping that a pauperized society would be more dependent upon and subservient to that regime.

The introduction of new currency in January and February 1945 when each person was permitted to exchange only 500 zlotys (then 5 dollars), for the new banknotes, deprived the people, the farmers especially, of all their monetary savings. The land reform was carried out in a way vividly recalling the expropriation of the Russian and Ukrainian farmers in 1917-18. The Soviet Army was at hand, destroying property, stealing cattle, grain and agricultural machinery. The nationalization of industry was accompanied by similar events, with the Soviet Army busily preoccupied in shipping machinery and industrial equipment to Russia. Add to this the constant migrations of the population, compulsory resettlement, the enforcing of contributions in kind upon the farmers, low wages and salaries, and to top it off, the all-embracing, overstaffed, corrupt and ignorant Communist bureaucracy.

These conditions and events are generally known and do not require elaboration. Much less known are the circumstances which accompanied the integration into the Polish economy of the new western territories—

circumstances continuing to have a profound effect on Polish economic life. In his campaign against speculation Hilary Minc referred to the looting of the western territories and condemned those individual speculators who were selling on the free market the goods stolen in the West. Give this matter a moment's consideration.

In February 1945 the Soviet Army reached the River Oder. In the course of prolonged battles many cities and towns had been badly damaged. Breslau is an example. Towns, which escaped heavy damage were looted by the Russians and set on fire. The period between February and May 1945 was characterized by intensive shipping to Russia of cattle, grain and all kinds of machinery and industrial equipment. In May 1945, when the first "operation groups" of government representatives and Polish (Workers) Communist Party (PPR) members arrived in the new West, everything which had not been taken away by the Russians came under the newcomers' supervision and control. Industrial establishments, land and river transport, estates, libraries and scientific institutions remained under Russian management. The shipments to Russia continued on a gradually decreasing scale until mid-Summer 1946.

The "operation groups," or "pioneers" as the arriving regime people proudly called themselves, were primarily concerned with individual profiteering. To this end the PPR dignitaries grabbed everything of value which the Russians had not already appropriated. In the wake of the "operation groups" came opportunists enjoying PPR's support, who were given farms, shops and small factories. During 1945 and 1946 certain PPR dignitaries had got possession of as many as 400 hectares of land roughly 1,000 acres, in the new western provinces. It is well known in Poland that Vice-Premier Wladyslaw Gomulka, Marshal Michael Rola-Zymierski, Ministers Radkiewicz and Sztachelski, and also Hilary Minc himself, furnished their apartments in Warsaw with articles of furniture, silver and carpets looted from the houses and castles of Lower Silesia. Some of the PPR's protégés after having received land allocation in the West, stripped their gift-farms of everything of value and returned to the East. Many repeated this procedure, acquiring farms under different names or in different provinces. When the real pioneers, the repatriates from east of the Curzon line and people of Central Poland who had lost their homes during military operations, began to arrive in the West, they encountered grave difficulties even in obtaining unimproved plots of land or looted shops. The real pioneers had no part whatsoever in the looting, stealing and selling of valuable goods, which were so plentiful in the new West. This so-called "szaber" activity was a monopoly of the Russians, PPR dignitaries, militia, and security agents and of smaller fry from the criminal ranks who descended like vultures on the new territories. Criminal elements volunteered for militia and security service in order to get greater opportunity for looting.

After the "Wild-West" period was over, Lower Silesia became a kind of vast laboratory where the Polish puppet government conducted experiments connected with the economic sovietization of Poland.

Of course Hilary Minc did not mention who was responsible for this regular business based upon looting. He put the blame on private speculators; but he did it in May 1947, while the "szaber" period was over by mid-Summer 1946.

Another reason for the increase in Polish prices is—according to Minc — "excessive buying power in the cities."

This, too, is an explanation that will not stand scrutiny. Since the Spring of 1945 the population of the cities has consisted of farmers and factory owners deprived of their property, of merchants, craftsmen, intelligentsia and workers. All lost their savings early in 1945 through the currency exchange. Some of them had valuables which, however, have had to be sold during the two years of Communist rule. Wages and salaries have been on a sub-existence level. Who, therefore, could represent the "excessive buying power?" The only possible answer points to the Russian officers, who had their pockets full of Moscow-printed Polish notes, and to high officials of the regime. It is doubtful, however, whether the small number of privileged could exert a serious influence on the market in large towns and cities, especially in view of the fact that the dignitaries are well stocked with looted articles and are receiving superior food and clothing allotments from the government. Even if an independent private merchant succeeded in making a substantial profit, he refused to use the money for investments. The uncertainty of life in a police state makes one think twice before investing money in any kind of property or enterprise.

Minc complains also about "the excessive buying power of the village."

The villagers were stripped of money, cattle, grain and poultry early in 1945, first by the aforementioned compulsory "exchange" and then by the Soviet Armies marching across Poland. The worst stricken were the Ciechanow, Radom and Sandomierz districts. Contributions in kind, taken from the farmers by threat and force during 1945 and 1946, as well as Soviet grain and cattle purchases in 1946, added further hardships. When the lot of the farmers began to improve in certain districts, these people were ordered to move to the new West. This happened in the Cracow, Rzeszow, Kielce and Warsaw provinces. For a farm of 6 hectares (15 acres) the farmer received two hectares (5 acres) in the West, i. e., the same amount given to the destitute families from behind the Curzon line.

The Government does not further the recovery of the individual farmer. As Stanislaw Mikolajczyk stated in an interview with the Overseas News Agency after his recent escape from Poland, government financial assistance for agriculture was ridiculously small. Only "local collectives" are substantially subsidized. Minc's "excessive buying power of the village" is a myth. More than 35 per cent of the Polish countryside has been destroyed. Its buying power is only a small fraction of what it was in prewar years. The Polish farmer desperately needs industrial goods, machinery, cattle and fertilizers, but he has no means of buying them. He is, moreover, afraid of buying because tomorrow the sovkhoz (state farm) or kolkhoz (collective) may take from him all he has with such difficulty acquired. Therefore the individual farmer prefers to produce only for his own use. Herein lies the main cause of the phenomenon that Poland, a 70 per cent agricultural country, must import grain.

According to government statistics the production of the nationalized industry is already well over the Polish prewar production level. If one takes into account the fact that the government itself is selling the goods manufactured by the nationalized industries, regulating the prices and distributing the goods according to needs, the

greater or lesser buying power of town or village should have no effect on the prices. Minc himself said in December 1945 that in a nationalized economy the demand has no influence on prices. If despite all this prices are rising, there must be concealed causes, which, of course Minc did not mention, for instance: export to Soviet Russia of coal, textiles, glass, cement, fertilizers from Lower Silesia, and food, without adequate compensation.

According to Hilary Minc, "wildcatting" and excessive profiteering in privately owned business and the failure of the cooperative trade are the main causes for the price increases.

The Communists refuse to consider private commercial enterprise as essential to Polish economic life. Early in 1946 the government began to undermine private business by establishing the State Trading Center and still earlier by nationalizing cooperatives through the organization "Spolem." Other cooperatives, for instance "Farmers' Self-Help," have an obvious political-collective administrative character. Nationalization has already brought about the disappearance of private wholesale trade. When the government refused to grant business licenses to wholesalers, private enterprise was reduced to retail business alone. The "wildcatting" Minc condemns in private trade is caused first by the general lowering of moral principles by the Lublin men and their sponsors, and secondly by the self-defence of the merchants against the flood of government decrees aimed at the destruction of private business. "Wildcatting" is the most characteristic feature of Polish private trade today, but from the human viewpoint it is sound, since it is the attempt of independent merchants to secure by all possible means food and other goods for sale on the free market.

Consequently, the merchants are buying food from the farmers at prices lower than those demanded by the State Trading Center. From small factories and craftsmen they are able to get basic clothing articles like shoes, linen, hats, as well as such items as soap and toothpaste. Industrial workers, who receive part of their wages in goods manufactured in their factories, sell to the private trade textiles, kitchen utensils, etc. Others who work in sugar refineries, distilleries or cigarette factories exchange or sell these articles received as a part of their wages on the open market.

Such transactions, which supply shopkeepers with a limited amount of basic articles, are of course accomplished in an unofficial way. Though limited, these supplies could be fairly adequate considering the inferior buying power of the Polish consumer, if it were not for the competition of the Russians. Representatives of the Soviet Union Red Army officers and soldiers, MVD (formerly NKVD) agents, various instructors, advisers and artists, are well provided with Polish money printed in Moscow. They buy on the Polish free market everything they can put their hands on, regardless of price. The situation is still worse in the frontier region, the Lublin province especially, where Soviet Army and MVD men are constantly crossing the border and swarming into the Polish markets. No Poles, whether town or village folk, can compete with the Russians in such buying.

Exports to Russia and the superior buying power of the Russians in Poland are the real reasons for the lack of consumers goods and consequently for the inflationary rise of prices. Confirmation of such a state of affairs may even be found in the government-controlled press.

(Please turn to page 19)



# TATRAS - THE MAGNIFICENT PILE OF GRANITE PEAKS

By CLARENCE A. BRODEUR

Clarence Arthur Brodeur teaches Modern Painting at Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y. In 1938 the Kosciuszko Foundation sent him to paint the Podhale region. He returned to Poland in 1939 on a Kosciuszko exchange professorship, to study the Tatra folklore, where in Zakopane he witnessed the German invasion.

MY FINAL impressions of the Tatra region are painful, for I left it at the end of October, 1939. Already food and fuel had become almost unobtainable, families were disrupted, and the threads of normal existence were tangled and broken. The mountains echoed nightly to the rifles of the guerrillas, carrying on a plaguing resistance to the invader. Of the life this land had known, nothing seemed to remain.

The magnificent pile of granite peaks called the High Tatras lies on the southwestern border of Poland, forming the highest point of the long Carpathian range that was the geographical backbone of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Tatra mountaineers, or "Gorals," like all isolated peoples, represent an unusually pure racial type, blue-eyed and blond, with jutting aquiline nose, strong chin and salient cheekbones, the face a somewhat pointed oval. Although a meagre bit of crop-raising and the tending of flocks and herds have provided his livelihood, the "Goral" has never been a serf like his less fortunate agricultural cousins of the lowland plains. He was originally a brigand, pillaging his enemies to protect and provide for his own. His half-legendary chieftain celebrated in his songs and dances was the outlaw Janosik, the Polish Robin Hood.

Fifty years ago this region was little known, and Zakopane, its municipal center, was a tiny village. It was first discovered by a small group of writers, scholars and artists who settled there and built their homes, not to confine themselves to the study and recording of the local arts, but to be inspired to creative activity on their own account. The elder Witkiewicz, most celebrated as a critic, but also painter and architect, studied

the native architecture with its ingenious functionalism of wood-construction and rich decorative carving, and developed the simple two-room dwelling into a legitimately expanded house of two stories, several of which houses he designed for his friends. From this stimulus, the native pattern has produced a contemporary regional style. Tetmajer and Pol among the poets, and Kasprowicz, who was killed in a winter avalanche and gave his name to the beautiful and treacherous Mount Kasprowy, have enriched Polish literature with their verses conceived in the Tatras. And Szymanowski, who died in middle age as recently as 1937, has produced an opera, "Harnasie," based on the Goral legends and airs. The pungent native poetry in the local patois has been written down; Mierczyński has transcribed the music of the strange mountain dances; and a great work has been done in the phonographic recording of the original airs as played and sung at weddings and festivals.

The Tatra "Goral" is a woodcarver. Not only is his house embellished, both inside and out, with plant and flower patterns over doorways, on faces and ends of its beams, and around its walls; his chairs are similarly incised or inlaid, plate-racks and utensil-holders are ornamented, knives, forks and spoons, cheese-molds and butter-paddles spring to life in pierced or sunk-relief design; and the great family table is emblazoned in its center and at each place, usually with some religious monogram or symbol. Devoutly pious, he builds roadside shrines and fills them with wooden images of the Virgin or a patron saint; and his home usually contains at least one figure of the Christ, — a tired Saviour, clothed only by a breech-clout, the Tatra shepherd's cloak, and the crown of thorns. He is seated on a rock, chin in palm, borne down by the burden of His contemplation.

A Sunday brings the people down from the mountains in their most colorful clothing. The men's close-fitting woolen trousers flash white in the sun, pointed up by blue side-stripes, patches of embroidery on the thighs, and brilliant pompons dangling at the ankles. Their shallow-crowned black felt hats sport bright cockades or a single eagle's feather, and the great sheepskin vests or jackets are gay with needlework borders. But the women are the real birds of plumage. A scarf makes a spot of red or orange of the head. Another, knotted

at the neck, falls over the back to a point at the waist. The long sleeves of a white blouse, delicately embroidered at wrists and often along their length, set off a gorgeously bespangled girdle eight or ten inches wide. The skirt may be colored, white, or black, with flowered designs in emerald-green or crimson, sometimes with minor notes of blue and yellow.

The landscape is of the most varied sort. Most of the valleys are stern and narrow, but there is one more smiling, called Kościeliska. One may walk for several miles along its gently rolling floor sown with vari-colored crops that divide the surface into patchwork. At one point in this valley are two small shepherd huts, typical summer shelters. They are built of roughly squared logs, with the chinks left open, — the only means of ventilation apart from the five-foot doorways, and irregular openings at the peak of the gabled roofs. The latter are made of boards laid vertically from ridge-pole to eaves. One of the

buildings, together with its tiny lean-to shed, houses sixteen cows; the other, three adults and three children. In the house there is just room enough for four crude bunks, an open hearth of rough stone, and a couple of wooden vats that hold several gallons of sheep's-milk. The fire burns brightly under an iron pot, filling the interior with aromatic smoke that pours out in blue clouds through all available openings. The cheeses hang to be cured in this smoke.

The clear blue Tatra midsummer sky will shortly be broken up by masses and fragments of cloud that change both forms and colors in the landscape with kaleidoscopic swiftness. The day will probably have its gray spell, which may break in a few moments, or may last for hours and end in a downpour. This inconstant pattern of light overlies an equally intricate skein of surfaces: serrated masses of rock; valleys and ridges clothed with trees; patches of cultivated land; and finally the naked peaks, skirted in green-gold and irregularly etched by darker spots of scrub-pine; all of it tumbled together into a complex that is infinite in possible arrangements of form.

That is the Podhale. Now come to a higher spot, to the glacial lake, Morskie Oko, "Eye of the Sea." Several hundred feet above it is a second and smaller basin, whose lip spills off the waters of "Black Pond," Czarny Staw. Above this the scarred granite walls are piled in wild disorder. All but the topmost slopes are sprinkled with grass, vivid green near the water and the most delicate veil of chartreuse farther up. The rock itself is a soft, grayed rose, almost lilac, with here and there a quality of luminous ochre where it is transformed by the stains of iron-ore or a skin of lichen.



"PEACE TO MEN OF GOODWILL" by C. A. Brodeur.

Late in the day the sun disappears, stormclouds wrap themselves about the summits and slide over the rim of the basin. The mountain springs, swollen by the rains, now etch the cliffs with a hundred new white lines and feathery cascades. The murmur of the freshets has become a roar, and climbing the trail we find it cut in many places or filled up with debris. The vivid evergreen scrub rises in front of us; then all is blotted out by the mist at fifty feet. Here are the sheep again, and the imperturbable shepherd who endures the rain without other shelter than his wide-brimmed hat and heavy black wool cloak.

Small wonder that this land is full of legend, that its people sing a strange minstrelsy now infinitely sad, now boisterously gay, and dance a mad and complicated fling unlike any other in the world. Civilization will eventually stifle the voice of Janosik and dim his memory; but today he still calls to his children, and is remembered by them.



"INVASION IN THE CARPATHIANS" Egg Tempera, 1943, by C. A. Brodeur.

W  
H  
O  
M

MERRY CHRISTMAS  
and  
A HAPPY NEW YEAR

CASIMIR AND FLORENCE JARZEBOWSKI



# WHAT ABOUT POLAND?

“PEOPLE WALK many kilometers to us, not begging, but asking quietly whether we can give them food for their children. Sometimes whole families have come 18 or 20 kilometers. There have never been beggars in this part of Poland, and with one or two exceptions, we have not had anyone asking for food until recently.” This statement from a Quaker worker in Poland emphasizes the continuing need in that country and points up the recent statement made by Acting Secretary of State, Robert A. Lovett, that there is a “rapidly deteriorating outlook on the Continent.”

In the face of this picture, our State Department announced in August that aid to Poland would be discontinued for the ensuing quarter of this year. The decision was made on the basis of a report from Col. R. L. Harrison, following a four-day survey in Poland. It stated that the grain and other foods available, supplemented by private relief supplies, are ample to meet the needs of the Polish people.

The combined contributions of private relief agencies at work in Poland today, however, fall far short of providing even the necessary stop-gap. A report from the Advisory Committee of Voluntary Foreign Aid of the United States Government indicates that the food, clothing, medical and other supplies shipped to Poland by the voluntary agencies during the first five months of 1947 amounted to only \$5,700,242. Translated into food alone, this amount could not meet the needs. It would mean that funds would be diverted from services which are now effective to a food supply program which could not possibly be more than palliative.

On the announcement that aid to Poland would be discontinued, the American Friends Service Committee felt obliged to share the facts received from Quaker workers in that country, and sent telegrams to President Truman and Secretary of State Marshall urging that Poland continue to receive general relief aid.

Since August 1946, a team of men and women representing the Friends Relief Service of London and the American Friends Service Committee, has been distributing food to approximately 9000 pre-school children in the villages in the Czerwonka area.

When these extra rations had to be reduced from 300 to 250 calories daily (about one and a half pounds of food per week) for each child because of lack of supplies, a relief worker wrote: “The people find it hard to understand the cut in weekly portions of food when the need is at its height. Our food has obviously not been merely supplementary, but basic.”

“You can see real fear in people’s faces and hear it in their voices when they talk about the future until the harvest.”

The United Nations Special Technical Committee has estimated that 2300 calories per person per day is the very minimum subsistence level. Yet in parts of Poland people living on the land receive little more than 2200 daily, while those living in the cities must often get along on 1400. The Poles estimate that in order to achieve a nutritional level of 1800 calories for the urban population, it would be necessary for Poland to import about 400,000 tons of grain, 19,000 tons of fats, and 23,000 tons of milk during the balance of the calendar year.

Poland, therefore, is expected to be short more than 400,000 tons of staple foods during October, November and December, unless substantial imports are available. Translated into pictures we can more readily understand, these facts mean that in one boys’ school, breakfast and lunch consist of one piece of black bread with jam or occasionally ham fat, and a cup of soup; they mean that



*Courtesy American Friends Service Committee.*

A young Polish boy gazes upon the ruins of what was once Szydlow.

Polish mothers eagerly walk several miles to get three-fourths of a quart of cereal, a can of evaporated milk and a bar of chocolate when relief supplies are available; they mean that the 6000 doctors left in Poland cannot find nourishing food with which to fight the increasing tuberculosis rate.

It is true that conditions in parts of western, industrialized Poland have improved during the past year, and that food needs vary with the seasons. A report from the Anglo-American team in Kozienice states that the harvest of 1946 marked the first small step toward recovery for the people in that area. “Now,” the report continues, “on the eve of the harvest a year later, there is a considerable difference in the appearance of the countryside. The fields, mostly cleared of mines, have been largely cultivated, many people have rebuilt their houses and managed to buy pigs and hens, or even a horse and cow. We never imagined that it would be possible to cease the distribution of food here this year without causing a good deal of hardship.

“Not that there are obvious signs of returning prosperity in all parts. There is a marked contrast in conditions where the soil is good and where it is sandy. In sandy districts, even before the war, undernourishment produced weaker, less resilient peasants, less able to face the problems of existence. Certain villages are poverty-stricken. Their men were killed in the war and the coun-

*(Please turn to page 20)*



# NEWS FROM NORTHERN EUROPE

THE ESTONIAN daily, whose name in translation is "The Voice of the People," in its August 30 issue carried an article by the Minister of Education for Soviet Estonia which reads in part as follows:

"The promotion of patriotism in the schools demands that all the pupils be imbued with the Marxist view of life, that they be educated in the Marxist-Leninist spirit. It has to be regretfully acknowledged that some Soviet Estonian educational institutions have neglected education in this spirit. The result is that many pupils go to church, attend confirmation classes, etc. The educational institutions and teachers look upon this without undertaking anything to combat such superstition with appropriate enlightenment. They do not proceed from dialectical and historical materialism in teaching every subject in the curriculum and do not sufficiently elucidate scientific and philosophical questions, such as the origin of the world, the derivation of man, the origin of life, etc." And further on: "This class character mainly expresses itself in this way—that the pupils and students are imbued with idealism, religion, the spirit of reconciliation of classes, and the idea of preserving the dying, decaying, and parasitical bourgeois way of life."

Certainly these sentences from an official in whose hands lies the training of Estonian youth should answer some of the questions about the Soviet attitude to religion.

The Riga (Latvia) radio once more gives us something worthy of note. As the press in America has made known, during the last few months the British Government has opened the way for a number of Baltic refugees to enter England and find employment. This decent action has infuriated the Bolsheviks, who now have given the British another complimentary name—"slave traders." As a sample of the diatribes against the British, the Riga broadcast referred to above, a broadcast of September 17, is quoted:

"In our hands is a DP newspaper containing an article entitled 'The Ten Iron Commandments.' This is an admonition from all the leaders of the refugees to those going into British slavery. They are, of course, promising them a paradise in order to camouflage the hell that is awaiting these unfortunates. The article states that the future of the refugees will now depend upon their English masters—in other words, crawl on your belly before the British capitalists. The first commandment is: Do not provoke the Englishman. It is natural that everybody going begging to England must keep this in mind. There is no doubt that the deluded refugees will find no pots of honey and gardens of roses awaiting them in the British Isles. The refugees are bundled on the quay and left in the open while the ships return to Germany for a new load. And the only luggage of these poor people are these ten commandments. It must be said that the Balts are going to their destruction when they go to England. They must keep their mouths shut and weigh every word they utter—that is how we understand those revolting ten commandments."

As comment on this, word comes from Britain that Soviet agents are at work among the Balts who have been so fortunate as to get to England, attempting to undermine their morale and make them return to their native land. Their efforts, however, are not crowned with success.

The Swedes have been much disturbed by Soviet interest in their country—and the uneasiness does not grow less as the months go by. During the past summer foreign planes were reported flying over northern Sweden—local inhabitants and customs officials being the reporters. A plane seen in late August was identified as

Soviet, the markings on the wings being plainly visible. The Swedes are of the opinion that the Soviets were photographing Sweden's northern fortifications.

The correspondent of the *Stockholms-Tidningen* who reported the above, also wrote of a visit the Soviet Minister to Finland made to Tornea, a town on the Finno-Swedish border, where the inhabitants were much surprised by the behavior of the visitors and by their interest in certain features of the place. For instance, the Soviet minister and members of the delegation accompanying him climbed to the top of the town's water tower, from which they had a good view of Sweden. Finnish employees of the Water Works had offered to accompany the group, but the offer had been refused—the Soviet official making it understood that he wished to be alone with his companions.

When the visitors were taken on a sight-seeing tour of the town, they had no interest in anything except the largest buildings, such as churches, the town hall, the Teachers' Seminary, hospitals. Some of the buildings they visited and inspected, about others they inquired, demanding the number of rooms, size, and similar information—from which the Finns inferred that the Russians were looking for places where troops might be housed.

The Soviet minister expressed great astonishment at the amount of traffic over the Finno-Swedish border, where long lines of cyclists, cars, and pedestrians were passing from one country to the other without having to go through a complicated formality, those who were known to the frontier guards not even being required to present their papers of identification. This free way of doing things was utterly incomprehensible to the Russians, for whom a frontier means a forbidden zone, barbed wire, and stern armed guards.

The Swedish correspondent adds that the water tower is no longer the only lookout on the Finnish side of the frontier. Since that visit it has been supplemented by wooden towers along the entire Swedish-Finnish border, each about three miles from its neighbor, and all clearly visible from the Swedish side. The official explanation is that they are needed in the mapping of Lapland and for use by forest rangers on the watch for fires. Swedish comment is that mapping is today usually done from planes and that service in fire watching does not explain the location of the towers along the frontier.

A correspondent of the Swedish daily *Aftonbladet* reports that the Finns are fortifying their frontier, but surely not of their own accord. The Swedes conclude that, since these are fortifications for defense, and undoubtedly Soviet-ordered, the Soviets are preparing for war in the north, where the Finns would hold back Western armies and keep the fighting on Swedish soil until the Red Army could come up and turn it into an invasion of the West.

Among the Soviet troops stationed in Estonia, says a native of that country who has recently got out into the free world, there is noticed rising dissatisfaction. They say that if there is going to be another war "it will have to be without them," that they do not intend to risk their lives again for the sake of "the little father." The disabled veterans of the war just past are the worst grumblers. "They are violently anti-Bolshevik." Their blouses are covered with medals but they are begging their bread. Their number grows daily—a veritable plague for the country. If they remain in one place, they are made to work, no matter what their disability. One of these veterans—a man with a wooden leg—worked as a lumberman near the home of the Estonian giving this news. This fellow's only food con-

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# Ann Su Cardwell's Letter.

No. 174-175, December 5, 1947

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**L**IFE IN YUGOSLAVIA is vividly described in an article in The New Leader, Nov. 15, based on the report of a Yugoslav engineer who returned to his homeland to work under the Tito regime, found that he could not do so, and escaped to tell what is happening there. Here are a few sentences from the article: "Both peasant and worker are more undernourished and ill-clad than at any time in the history of the country, and in fact are worse off than they were under the German occupation. Should a murmur of protest arise about the hardships of life, it is met with the cry, 'The land is yours, the factories are yours, everything is yours. What more do you want?' But the army and the militia are living well . . . An officer caste has come into being which maintains an authority and class distinctions unknown in the land until the present day. High civil servants, too, are favored and in addition to their normal salary, are given secret emoluments which make them comfortable . . . Under the Communist regime, the administrative bureaucracy are living such lives of luxury as they never before even dared dream."

After speaking of the continuing resistance among the masses, of the regime's 700,000 army, the purges, and the terror, the informant says: "The Yugoslavs are completely cured of Pan-Slavism, and they speak of the Russians with contempt. In Yugoslavia the antagonism between Serb and Croat is no longer a problem. Nor is there a question of a monarchy or a republic, or of quarrelling between parties. *The issue is between slavery and freedom, totalitarianism and democracy.* Gradually the people are losing faith in themselves . . . which is just what Tito desires. It is necessary to raise the morale . . . and the first essential is that they should be enabled to know that true and accurate information about their condition is reaching the Western world. Secondly, the people look for action in their behalf in the countries abroad. . . ."

From France comes disclosure of Soviet activities in that country that should get more than passing notice—so revealing are they of Moscow's procedures. According to a French-Soviet agreement of June, 1945, the Soviets have the right to reclaim their citizens in France. Moscow proceeded energetically to act on the agreement, sending its agents to scour all France, collect the Soviet citizens in assembly camps, from which they were to be sent back to the USSR.

One of those camps is at Beauregard, situated in the vicinity of Versailles. And here, as in all other such camps, are persons whose citizenship is decided not by themselves but by the Soviet agents. The character of the camp is indicated by the barbed wire enclosing it, by the many police dogs, by the towers with their powerful reflectors, by the fully armed guards, by the portrait of Stalin, with a light below it in traditional ikon fashion, at the entrance gate. A visitor's permit is extremely difficult to get but Jean Bernard-Derosne did get one, and then described that visit in the Paris weekly, La Bataille. Later news of the existence of this astonishing camp near Paris was made the subject of articles in the American press, but I wish to call attention to certain features stressed by the French reporter not emphasized by the American press.

"The tragedy of the 'displaced world'," says the Frenchman, "results from the determination of citizenship by

geography. Here are men and women from the Baltic states, caught in this gigantic machine that destroys both body and soul. Here are Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians. And farther on there are Finns from Karelia, Poles from White Russia, people from Lwow and Eastern Poland, citizens of Bessarabia, Czechoslovaks from Carpathian Ruthenia . . . A multitude of agreements decided the fate of these people, deprived them of their fatherland to give it to a stronger and more cynical partner. The 'dictated' peace imposed upon heroic Finland, exhausted by war; the partitioning of bled-white Poland for the benefit of the German aggressor's partner—Poland the stake in the poker game played by the Allies. Russia of the tsars used these same methods to decide the citizenship of masses of human beings . . . The antennae of this terrible monster reach out and pull in everything. . . ."

The French are by no means happy over the Soviet-French agreement, on the strength of which Moscow agents seize such persons as are mentioned above and former citizens of tsarist Russia who have been in France since Bolshevik Revolution days. The French Government signed the agreement as a means of obtaining the return of tens of thousands of Frenchmen held as prisoners of war in the USSR; but the Kremlin has respected its part of the accord in the usual Kremlin manner. And the French are both irritated and humiliated by the existence of what are really Soviet prison camps on French soil.

*While writing of camps*, it is pertinent to quote a passage from a letter by Michail Nickolsky to The Christian Science Monitor after his arrival in this country following release from a DP camp "in the ruins of Munich, Bavaria (United States Zone)." From the picture he gives of camp life I take this casual remark: "Almost constantly the DP's are urged to return to their native countries, but they refuse, knowing that the Communist governments will offer them only a concentration camp in return. In spite of their refusals, the authorities increase the pressure, and rations are now being cut to force the issue." Do you know who those "authorities" are and out of whose pockets their salaries are paid? Yours.

In the Soviet-controlled zone of Germany Moscow is using every propaganda means to besmirch the United States and Great Britain and to popularize the idea of Eastern Germany joining the USSR after the expected failure of the Foreign Ministers' meeting in London this month. All observers—most of their observations must be drawn from reports given by the thousands of Germans fleeing from the Soviet to the western zones, since the Soviet authorities permit only limited travel by outsiders—agree that the German people are by no means pro-Soviet. The German working people are discouraged; they get little food, clothing, coal; dismantling of factories continues; rail communication has been greatly decreased because of Russian removal of rails and rolling stock; not less than 60% of the industry of this zone is now owned by the Russians, paid for with Allied marks from the Russian printing presses.

But Moscow is not expecting a voluntary turn to the Soviet Union on the part of the German population. The tactics are the same here as in all other territories



that have been appropriated by Moscow, that is, attainment of control through a minority placed in power by the Red Army and by terror. Moreover, reports hitherto treated in certain quarters as rumors have now been confirmed that the Russians are preparing a large German army for use when the time appears opportune; recruiting for specialists in various lines goes on even in the United States, British, and French zones, "even among Nazis condemned by the denazification tribunals and forbidden to take employment in other zones." As for German prisoners of war still in the USSR, an official publication in the Soviet zone in January, 1947 gave the number as 3,000,000. Two months later Molotov said 890,000. A few, a very few have returned home; some have been "loaned" to Soviet satellite states, the German Socialist Schumacher has suggested; the rest may now be in a "free German army" waiting for another "Der Tag."

*In Poland* the cost of living continues to soar. Wages and salaries have risen but by no means in proportion to prices. Skilled workers earn from 4,000-10,000 zlotys a month, unskilled labor much less. State employees receive 20,000 zlotys or more. These last, together with members of the Communist (Polish Workers) Party, can live well and cheaply, since they are privileged to buy at Party stores which are well supplied with everything. The average citizen, however, must buy on the black market, where prices are very high, or do without, as many commodities no longer appear on the official market. In October milk in Warsaw was 35 zl. a quart, butter 700 zl. a kilo (2.2 lbs.), tea 6,000 zl. a kilo, an average dinner of prewar quality cost from 500 to 1,000 zl. So a 6,000 zl. salary buys 2 pounds of tea.

Opening of "State Commercial Stores" in new centers continues, the number planned for this year being 60, with another 140 projected for 1948. This action is just another way of nationalization of all enterprise without giving it that name, since private enterprise cannot compete with state stores that compel farmers and industrialists to sell their products to the state at absurdly low prices. It is a method that in time puts both production and distribution in the hands of the state. Pro-regime co-operatives are already taking over many merchants' establishments.

Adding to difficulties of getting food, is the corruption existing in the government department handling ration cards. During the two years between September 1945-1947 ration cards to the number of 10-25,000 were stolen each month by employees of the Ministry of Food, altogether some 600,000 cards. That number was for food alone; in addition there was disappearance on a large scale of clothing ration cards.

The pro-Soviet and anti-American campaign goes merrily on in the "new Poland." "Polish-Soviet friendship and cooperation are very properly connected with the spiritual kinship of the two peoples, with their common language and culture, with their common Slav ideology, their common ideals of freedom," asserted the puppet regime's Minister of Justice during the Exchange of Culture Month. And according to Antoni Choloniewski, in an article entitled "The Spirit of Polish History," a new era for Polish culture is in the offing—an era when it would be merged with the Soviet ideals; which of course would mean the disappearance of Polish culture and ideals. But that calls to mind a motion made and approved at the Pan-Slav Congress in Sofia in 1945, to the effect that Russian should be the language of all Slavs, not only in official but in daily life. Furthermore, throughout all the USSR Russian is the favored language. I have in earlier letters written of its use in government offices and on the radio in the Baltic States, which Moscow now considers are now firmly tied into the Soviet Union.

The "Polish" army paper, *Polska Zbrojna* (Warsaw), makes this contribution to the understanding of America: "Today America is taking freedom to nobody in the world. The people governing the United States have brutally tram-

pled on the ideals for which Washington and Lincoln fought, and for which the American people fought Hitlerism. The policy of the American Government and the great capitalist circles is world domination, the deprivation of the smaller nations of their freedom and independence . . . It should be made clear that what the American Government and the governing groups are doing today has nothing in common with the interests and wishes of the American people . . . The nation wished to fight and did fight Hitler. And while the people were carrying on the fight, in the secrecy of the cabinet of millionaires conversations went on about how to save Germany, how to get control of German factories and wealth."

What the Soviet stooges accuses America of, just that Russia is doing.

In his excellent presentation of American-Soviet relations during the years when he was our Secretary of State, a volume he has entitled "Speaking Frankly," James F. Byrnes remarks that "The Indian says, 'Fool me once, shame on you; fool me twice, shame on me'." How many scores of times have we allowed the Kremlin crowd to fool us? We spent some \$400,000,000,000 to fight the war (I won't say "to win the war" for I'm not sure we did). We hurried over \$11,200,000,000 worth of lend-lease to the USSR—of which loan we can now collect nothing. It costs us \$200,000,000 a year to feed the Germans, who ought to be paying reparations. We are having to make enormous contributions in relief and for reconstruction to all of Europe that is permitted to receive it. And there is no end in sight.

If anybody can still be so naive as to think that there is hope of cooperation on the part of the USSR in bringing peace to the world, he must have entirely closed his mind to the reception of the truth. Mr. Byrnes makes it very clear, through his revelation of conference and private conversations with Stalin, Molotov and Vishinsky, that Moscow's purpose is to prevent anything being done anywhere to bring peace and order, thus giving the Communists time to win control of one country after another—not excluding our own. "We live in a century when all roads lead to Communism," asserts Pravda.

Mr. Byrnes urges America to stand by its ideals, warns that we must understand the seriousness of the situation and be prepared for the consequences. And the President made it evident in his speech at the opening of Congress that the Government is in no mood for further delay in improving the world situation.

Mr. Byrnes' quoting of Churchill's statement on Poland during the Yalta meeting is especially pertinent at the present time. Here is that statement, as it appears in the Byrnes book: "Britain declared war on Germany in order that Poland should be free and sovereign. Everyone knows what a terrible risk we took and how nearly it cost us our life in the world, not only as an Empire but as a Nation. Our interest in Poland is one of honor. Having drawn the sword in behalf of Poland against Hitler's brutal attack, we could never be content with a solution that did not leave Poland a free and independent sovereign state." If that last sentence is to be accepted as expressing the attitude of the British people, then those Poles continuing the struggle for a free and independent Poland should have many friends in Great Britain today.

*Vishinsky* and the representatives of the two Soviet "republics"—which by rights should not have seats in the Assembly of the United Nations—and those of the satellites, continue to denounce the United States and its prominent and highly respected citizens from the forum of the United Nations, at dinners in New York's finest hotels, in private conferences. How can we work with a government whose chief representative at the Assembly states in an interview granted five United Nations correspondents that "The Soviet

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press never goes in for sensational stories . . . The United States press, on the whole, is built on sensationalism . . . It should not say it (American policy) is right simply because Senator Austin says it is right . . . Russian officials speak the truth and the Russian press can rely on them."

And how can a great group of Americans call themselves loyal citizens and yet attend a dinner to promote American-Soviet friendship where this man is one of the chief speakers, an occasion he uses, relying upon his diplomatic immunity, to calumniate and libel one of our representatives in the United Nations Assembly, and not one American rise to protest? Another speaker was a recently arrived member of the British Parliament, Zilliacus, a fellow-traveller if not a Communist. And of course there were our own pro-Soviet citizens. We take particular care to prevent enemies of plant and animal life from entering our country; but we have so far not given much thought to the protection of our national ideals. We prefer to give the gangsters every opportunity on the grounds that otherwise there is no freedom of speech and assembly.

Genocide is a word we are going to become familiar with. The peoples of Eastern Europe already know all too well what it means, being themselves the objects of Soviet genocide policy. Representatives of Ukrainian communities in both North and South America met in New York recently and voted to send a petition to the United Nations General Assembly, asking that body "to create an international commission to investigate the situation prevailing in the Ukraine and to make a fair and unbiased report." The petition stressed the Soviet policy of destroying the Ukrainians as a "national, cultural, and religious entity." The Baltic peoples, through exiles now in this country, have likewise had their case presented to the Assembly. The appeal charges the Soviet Union with using a genocide policy in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and calls upon the Assembly to take action that will result in the liberation of these states from Soviet oppression.

Let us hope that these appeals have not been consigned to files where they will lie forgotten. We have had plenty of fair words for the little Baltic countries and we have not recognized Moscow's incorporation of them into the USSR. The fact that we have taken no negative action leaves the way open for a positive move.

"*The Land of Epaulettes*" is the name a Swiss correspondent gives to the Soviet Union. "Hardly a week passes," he writes in *Die Weltwoche*, "without the creation of a new title, the acceptance of a design for a new medal, of a new uniform. Every occupation in the USSR will soon have its titles, its medals, its uniforms." The Spartan austerity of the days closely following the Revolution was shortlived. Today's Russia far outdoes Hitler's "uniformed Germany." It seems, according to this correspondent, that it was not the purpose of the revolutionaries to destroy tsarist Russia's love of titles, decorations, and uniforms but to give everybody those external marks of class and achievement that once were the privilege of the few. Every peasant woman parades her son as a lieutenant in the Red Army, his chest covered with medals for this and that. The Kremlin encourages this love of uniform and be-medalling, the Swiss says, for wearers of uniforms are more easily disciplined.

Moscow propaganda and fellow-traveller talk have continually stressed the fine work the Bolshevik Government has done for the various nationalities inhabiting the USSR—how each has been encouraged to develop along the lines of its national tradition. An article in a recent issue of *Swiatpol* (London) throws some light on that subject. The Supreme Council of the Russian Federated Soviet Republic met in June of this year to consider the expenditures of the 1946 budget and to approve that

for 1947. The discussions were limited to economics, not a word about policies, which are all determined by the Politburo of the Soviet Union.

The Russian Federated Soviet Republic is inhabited not only by Russians but by many other peoples, among them Tatars and Mongols. But the name "Russian" makes the Republic appear purely Russian, and in that Republic's Supreme Council it is Russians who direct the course of affairs. *Pravda*, June 20, says: "The Russian Federated Republic rightly calls itself the first among the sister republics of the great Soviet Union . . . In the Great Patriotic War, it was the Russian people who both at the front and behind the lines set the pattern of burning patriotism for all the nations of the USSR." That has been the official propaganda line for some time past, with every medium used to put it across. During the sessions of that Supreme Council in June, the Moscow delegates followed the official line, pouring out the usual stream of "gratitude of the workers" to Stalin and his men. But listen to Batimirov, member from the distant Altai region: "Our country is seriously in need of medical help. There is a shortage of doctors . . . Medical supplies and surgical instruments arrive only after long delay and then in small quantities. Comrade Bielecky, Minister of Health, gives us no help. . . ."

There were similar complaints from other members; and the *Swiatpol* article reminds us that the speeches have all undergone censorship. Therefore, if the charges are permitted publicity, it must be that the shortages are so well known that discussion of them must be permitted, or that the attacks on the officials are used as a means of drawing attention from the failure of the Government itself. Be that as it may, it is Russians who are dominating the affairs of the Russian Federation, and it is the Russian Federated Soviet Republic that is constantly having its territories enlarged through the liquidation of autonomous republics—like that, for instance, of the Volga Germans—and through addition of conquered areas like the larger part of East Prussia and Outer Mongolia. Kalinin, then President of the Supreme Council of the USSR, justified such acts in his little book, "The Strength of the USSR," in this way: ". . . the Russian state has had to wage many wars, in defense of its existence and its independence as well as for the acquisition of neighboring territories indispensable for the security of its frontiers."

From that Moscow-dictated Communist conference in Poland in the early autumn we have an interesting item regarding training of "activists." Zhdanov, the Moscow delegate, spoke on the necessity of hastening such training and the need of collecting special funds for it. Poland, according to Zhdanov, stood high on the list in such training, have 43 established schools and 5 others for still more intensive schooling. Finland had 12, Czechoslovakia 36, Romania 30, Hungary 32, Yugoslavia 49, Bulgaria 43, Albania 21, Italy 79, France 67. But the best results were attained by the Polish schools. The most promising pupils in all these establishments are to be sent to training centers of a yet higher order in Russia and in Makov, Czechoslovakia. After completion of training, the "students" are sent to work in youth and school societies, industrial and worker organizations. The Polish Communists—which means the Polish puppet regime, spending money collected as taxes—have spent 75,000,000 zlotys this year on "activist" training.

Zhdanov has helped explain the present situation in France and Italy; add to this information about the Communist training centers the later news of Soviet Communists supplied with French or Italian citizenship papers at work among French or Italians and you have concrete presentation of Moscow's idea of non-interference in the affairs of another state.



## THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE WARSAW REGIME

(Continued from page 11)

The Communist "Glos Ludu" of May 16, 1947, quotes the prices of sugar: Russia pays 47 zlotys for one kilogram (2.2 pounds) of Polish sugar; the State Trading Center sells one kilogram to the independent merchants for 180 zlotys; the cost of production of one kilogram amounts to 52 zlotys.

"Rzeczpospolita," official government daily of May 18, 1947, is surprised that the production of cement is only 70 per cent of the prewar output, though the number of cement factories increased by 300 per cent thanks to the newly acquired western territories (Opole Silesia). The newspaper omits, however, to mention the fact that over and above that 70 per cent is a very substantial compulsory export quota to Russia.

The Polish coal and coke production for 1947 will amount to over 58 million tons. According to official statistics, 10 million tons will go to Russia eight to western and northern Europe, and 40 million tons will remain for home consumption. As in the case of cement, however, the official statistics are false and misleading. Forty million tons for home consumption means that consumption per capita will amount to 1.6 tons while before the war it did not exceed 0.75 of a ton. Before the war coal was plentiful in Poland, now it is incredibly scarce. The explanation lies in the fact that the alleged 40 million tons for home consumption also comprise the so-called reparation coal which goes to Russia gratis. Unofficial but reliable reports assert that 20 million tons of coal and coke are sent to Russia as reparations in addition to the 10 millions of official export. Thus Russia takes away more than half of the whole Polish coal production.

The Socialist organ "Robotnik" on June 15, 1947, reported the codfish scandal on the Polish Baltic coast. Large quantities of the fish caught were thrown back into the sea owing to the lack of fish canneries. Yet a large cannery was established on the coast in mid-summer 1946, the opening of which was attended by several government officials. Unfortunately, the entire plant was whisked away to Russia in the late Fall of *that same year*.

"Wildcatting" in privately operated trade is the reason given by Minc for his attack on the "private speculators." Wildcatting is, however, the result of the political and economic conditions created by the government in co-operation with its Soviet sponsors. Minc is fighting the results not the causes. As to the "profiteering," the Minister of Industry and Trade should be pleased if the merchants register larger turnover and profit. This would mean a higher treasury income from taxes. But pursuing a Communist policy, dictated by Moscow, Minc is not concerned with treasury income. His chief interest lies in the liquidation of private trade.

The situation in the cooperatives is similar. According to an agreement concluded in 1945 by the three main political parties constituting the "government bloc," the Communists, Socialists and anti-Mikolajczyk Peasants, the Socialists received a monopoly in the cooperative movement nationalized through the over-all cooperative "Spolem." The Communists were in complete charge of industry and communication, while the government Peasant Party took care of agriculture through the "Farmers Self-Help."

The purpose of "Spolem" was to control the internal trade and turnover of food and other basic articles. Soon the Socialists were in full control of "Spolem," despite many camouflaged Communists planted discreetly by the government in that organization's administrative setup. Seeing trade slipping out of his hands, Minc decided early in 1946 on the creation of a State Trading Center with the first branches in Warsaw, Wroclaw (Breslau),

Gdansk (Danzig) and Szczecin (Stettin). This was aimed both at the private trade and the Socialist monopoly through "Spolem." After the creation of the State Trading Center, "Spolem" as an association of cooperatives, retained the right to buy up food, mostly agricultural products, and to supply the cooperative shops with rationed food. As the workers and government officials receive food supplies in addition to their wages and salaries, in like manner "Spolem" provides cooperative shops workers with similar supplies. The State Trading Center on the other hand took over the distribution of foods and articles produced by industry selling these goods to the independent merchants as well as to "Spolem," while reserving for itself the right to fix prices and to control retail prices in the private trade. Lack of qualified personnel in both "Spolem" and the State Trading Center, red tape and individual profiteering on the part of the inefficient Communist bureaucrats resulted in instability and sudden unexpected price increases of basic articles like sugar, salt, matches, flour, etc. The independent merchants could find a degree of relief through buying food from the farmers and other articles from the workers and lesser government employees, who were readily selling their allotments on the free market. "Spolem" however, being an official enterprise, had to rely solely on the State Trading Center and pay higher prices. The result was that there was a constant lack of supplies in the cooperative shops and the prices of rationed goods had to be steadily increased to meet the higher State Trading Center prices.

The inefficiency of "Spolem," described by Hilary Minc as one of the causes for the price increases, was thus caused in turn by the policies of Minc's own State Trading Center. It is difficult to estimate how much in these policies can be ascribed to Communist chaos and how much to deliberate intent to destroy "Spolem."

The "Farmers Self-Help," which supplies the farmers with grain for sowing, fertilizers and agricultural machinery, promotes the idea of collectivization by means of rendering help to the farmers on a collective basis. Members of Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party were as a rule excluded from any substantial help. To speed up the process of collectivization, representatives of the Peasant Party working with the government were removed from top positions in October 1947 and replaced by trusted Communists. Janusz, chairman of the "Self-Help," and secretary Jaworski were respectively replaced by the Communists: Dura, governor of the Warsaw province, and one Bodalski, secretary of the Polish Workers (Communist) Party in Bialystok.

The Council of Ministers of the Warsaw regime followed Minc's advice by issuing three basic decrees:

1. Concerning the extraordinary powers of the government to fight the high cost of living and excessive profits in commercial turnover, together with those empowering the "Approval Fund" to buy up all the food available;
2. Concerning special citizens' committees and social comptrollers;
3. Concerning special permits to conduct commercial establishments and to engage professionally in trade.

These decrees constitute a death blow for both private trade and "Spolem." The first decree provides for the creation of a central state organ with authority to purchase all the available agricultural products and to fix prices. It is tantamount to the nationalization of all handling of agricultural produce. The second decree creates a social apparatus, based on Communist personnel, for the control of private trade. The "social comptrollers" are already active in all Polish cities, raiding shops, closing them or confiscating them on the charge of

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## POLAND AND PEACE

matters is not who is right but who wins," then no amount of appeasement, compromise, or argument can be of any avail. Stalin professes to recognize no moral or legal responsibility and believes, apparently, that Power rests not on responsibility, but on authority. If this analysis is correct, he can be stopped only by superior show of force. Such a display of superior power by the United Nations or a group of nations acting for the United Nations will prove more efficacious in avoiding

war and insuring peace than can all the sentimental policies of weak appeasement.

The ultimate fate of Poland, too, will depend not so much on Russia or Germany but upon the collective conscience of the United Nations under the moral leadership of nations who recognize that in the modern world peace and slavery are incompatible and who are willing to take the calculated risk of enforcing peace on the basis of justice and respect for law.

## DISPLACED SCHOLARS

(Continued from page 6)

said impassively—*Und darunter meine Frau*. That cured me of my archaeological attitude and impassivity.

I traveled one day from Frankfurt to Fulda and beyond to the great DP camp with the 11,000 Poles at Wildflecken. In the back of the car with me was a Polish Monsignor who is the Papal delegate for the other Polish clergy in Germany. I had been told to try to get out of him a few stories of his years in the German prison camp of Mauthausen—if I could. He still has, I was told, an open and apparently incurable sore on his hip the result of lying on the damp boards of the camp. He still has the marks of the whips on his back. But he did not

mention these things, and you would never have guessed them from his cheerful ways.

O yes, everyone is talking of a Soviet invasion. But it is all rumor. A well informed person from Vienna told me that this is the Russian plan—a sudden thrust from Yugoslavia, through the north of Italy; then to the south of France and across and on to Spain and then to Gibraltar. They hope to be there in 72 hours, with all means of communication with the outside world cut. Such stories abound. You can imagine the DP's feel pretty uncomfortable about the whole thing. Is it to be Mauthausen all over again? And this time with Soviet Commandants? We alone have the answer.

## THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE WARSAW REGIME

(Continued from page 19)

"exorbitant prices" and sending the owners to forced labor camps. The decree was issued in June 1947, and as early as July some 100 merchants in Cracow were sent to forced labor, their places of business having been confiscated. The privately owned shops are being replaced by huge state-owned department stores, patterned on the Soviet "univermags." By the end of this year—if plans carry—50 such "univermags" will have been established throughout Poland.

According to the third decree of the Council of Ministers all independent shop owners had to apply to Minc's Ministry for a permission to conduct their business. The deadline was November 15, 1947. Together with the application the merchants had to pay a special fee amounting to 24 per cent of their turnover for the month of June 1947. The Ministry reserved the right to refuse permission "if the applicant was unqualified professionally or morally." In case of refusal the money was not refunded. Before this decree was issued, the merchant had only to buy "an industrial certificate," a purely mechanical function, in order to get a permit to conduct his business. The merchants scented the purpose of the decree, which was of course to further reduce the number of privately owned shops (there were 462,000 such before

the war, but only 164,000 in June 1947), to get hold of the money of the applicants, and in a majority of cases to refuse the desired permission. By the end of October 1947, two weeks before the deadline, only 10 per cent of the Warsaw merchants applied for a license. In all Poland the number slightly exceeded 5,000.

These government decrees have not improved the economic situation. The index of prices in September 1947 was approximately two per cent over that of May when the inflationary rise of prices was at its peak. The failures of the government's economic policies in every field are obvious. Notwithstanding superhuman efforts of the railroad personnel the fares have again been raised. Unemployment is rising. Lack of goods, textiles, coal and building materials is more and more acute. The amount of currency in circulation is increasing daily. The deficits in the nationalized industries are growing even though government subsidies are steadily rising. Poland's national economy is dying and a noisy campaign against the "speculators" cannot change this basic fact. But Hilary Minc is achieving the end prescribed for him by the masters of the Kremlin: the total collapse of Polish economic life in order to justify its integration into the huge slave economy machine of Soviet Russia.

## WHAT ABOUT POLAND?

(Continued from page 14)

try has been able to offer little constructive help to the widows and their families."

The Harrison Report included a statement that certain groups in Poland are more in need than others: "Imports of medical supplies and supplementary foodstuffs for relief of special groups such as children, orphans, sick and aged appear justified."

This statement bears out the findings of Quaker workers who report that there are an estimated 1,500,000 orphans and half-orphans in Poland, and about 3,000,000 children needing supplementary assistance. In Cracow alone, some 11,000 orphans and half-orphans are being

cared for in government institutions. Service Committee workers found that institutions they visited last winter had very little food and no blankets, sheets or recreation equipment. The grant received from the government for each child provided less than half the cost of maintenance.

There is tragedy in these facts and figures, and tragedy in what they do not tell. They give a picture of hunger yet do not make vivid the 20,000 children who die monthly of tuberculosis, or the 400,000 children who had no shoes all last winter. Basic needs and individual suffering in Poland continue to grow while governments argue whether they exist.

From: American Friends Service Committee Bulletin, November 1947 (condensed).



sisted of potatoes he took from the fields nearby, and which he cooked in a tin can, and bread that he begged.

In the early days of the occupation of Estonia (Estonians will not refer to the present situation in their country as anything other than an occupation) disabled Red Army veterans were placed in responsible positions. Most of them were uneducated, hardly able to write their name. Unfit to serve in the places to which they were appointed, they were later discharged and many were imprisoned.

"Happy are all those who somehow have got away. Wherever they are and however hard their life, it can never anywhere be as hard as life in a Soviet country," say the Estonians left in the homeland. One thing people of the West must understand, that is, that life in any Soviet-ruled land is the life of a slave—except for the privileged few. And for those few it is only slave-life on a high economic level.

"Please do not write to us," is a request made by Estonians to their relatives and friends outside. Correspondence with anyone abroad is regarded by the authorities as a crime of the first order. The recipient of a letter with a foreign postmark automatically goes on the "black list," no matter how innocent the contents of the letter, and a detailed account of his relations with persons abroad must be given the authorities by the recipient before the letter is delivered.

The bright remarks of "Moscow's Goebbels, Ilya Ehrenburg," are favorite material for reproduction in Communist papers in the Scandinavian countries. Here is a sample: "Since the end of the war American businessmen have decided to open Europe for American civilization, just as the Jesuits in their time took the blessings of European civilization to Paraguay. Europe is starving and the Americans are hurrying to her assistance, gener-

ously supplying the starving with cartridges, grenades, and bombs. The American people are sick of the war but they are helpless against their war-mongers because the average American is confused by persistent false information . . . The Soviet Union alone is still protecting peace and freedom, protecting the children not only of Moscow and Belgrade but also of New York and Montreal."

Communist papers in Europe make a specialty of carrying interviews with prominent people—that is, prominent in the Communist world. They are pleased to quote the British Communist, Harry Pollitt when he says that "there can be no doubt that the American imperialists now in power are preparing for a new war." They play up the declaration of Maurice Thorez, one of the two leading French tools of Moscow, that "the Marshall Plan means freedom for the capitalist jackals to devour workers and peasants, freedom to deprive the French nation of its sovereign rights." Every day the Communist press in Europe presents the views of some "authoritative speaker" on a matter that is of interest to Europeans. But whatever the theme, it is always possible to work in a dig for "imperialist America."

To quote from the closing paragraph of the article in the Newsletter From Behind the Iron Curtain from which the above information was taken, "The objective observer cannot fail to get the impression that the whole Communist élite is mobilized for a propaganda drive against the West . . . carried on with iron discipline and unshakable consistency. . . ."

This continual hammering away to break down the faith of Europeans in America and Britain cannot be dismissed with a shrug. Ways must be found to fight that propaganda.

December, 1947: Chicago, Ill.

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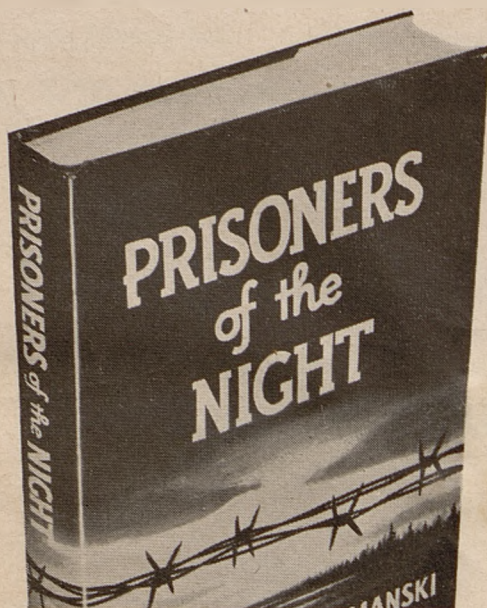
December 20, 1947

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